The Woman's Protest

AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE

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OFFICIAL NOVEMBER MAJORITIES

A LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

THE SOUTH'S VIEW OF SUFFRAGE

AFTERMATHS OF THE CAMPAIGN

OPPORTUNITY KNOCKS IN VAIN

WHY FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE OPPOSED SUFFRAGE

THE LIQUOR INTERESTS BUGABOO

MOVING CAUSES OF THE VOTE ON SUFFRAGE IN OHIO AND WEST

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OFFICIAL MAJORITIES IN NOVEMBER ELECTION

NEBRASKA

From letter of Secretary of State of Nebraska, dated Lincoln, November 27, 1914:

NO	100,842
YES	90,738
Majority	10,104

Majority against woman suffrage Nebraska, November, 1914, 10,104.

OHIO

From letter of Ohio Secretary of State, dated Columbus, November 25, 1914:

NO	581,295
YES	335,390
Majority	182,905

Majority against woman suffrage Ohio, November, 1914, 182,905.
Vote on prohibition, majority about 87,000 against.

NORTH AND SOUTH DAKOTA

Letters from Secretaries of State of North Dakota and South Dakota give the information that "official returns will not be available for a week."

MONTANA

Letter from Secretary of State of Montana states that official returns will not be available before the last of December.

NEVADA

Official returns from Nevada:

For suffrage	10,936
Against "	7,257
Majority For	3,679

MISSOURI

Official returns:

NO	322,463
YES	182,257
Majority Against	140,206

CHICAGO VOTE

Final figures in regard to the Chicago vote will be published in the January PROTEST. A letter received December 1, from the Commissioner of Elections states that the official figures are not yet available.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION

THE annual meeting of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage was held at the Headquarters in New York City on December 8th. The following peace resolution was entered upon the minutes and a copy forwarded to President Wilson:

Whereas, American sympathies are bound up with the hope that the hour of decision after this conflict in Europe will be the opportunity for a rational political reconstruction of the world which will eventually relieve civilization from the menace of more wars; and

Whereas, We believe that only widely convinced public opinion can bring about these changes, and that women, free from partisan strife, will more effectually influence public opinion without the use of the ballot;

Resolved, That we, the Council of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, record ourselves as unqualifiedly in support of the President in his offer that the United States unite with other neutral nations, on the first favorable occasion, to mediate for conditions which may lead to lasting peace.

Officers for the year 1914-1915 were elected as follows:

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Vol. VI. December, 1914 No. 2

The Woman's Protest invites letters from its readers.

THE SUFFRAGISTS AT NASHVILLE

THE Convention of the National Association of Woman Suffragists met at Nashville, Tenn., November 12-17.

The distinguishing feature that marks this convention from those that have preceded it is the amount of attention devoted to "Anti-Suffragists" by the leaders of the suffrage cause. In fact the Anti-Suffragist was the sum and substance of the president's annual address, the keynote of the convention.

Next to the overwhelming defeat of suffrage in five or six out of seven "Western" States on November 3, the most encouraging evidence that the tide has turned toward anti-suffrage is the attitude of suffrage leaders toward it. A State president took pains to assert in convention: "The Antis don't worry us," but the nature of their attitude is convincing evidence of their real feeling.

The "votes for women" seekers have become so disheartened that they have descended to the phase of petty politics called "mud slinging." This was especially noticeable at the recent national suffrage convention in Nashville.

Not only have Suffragists accused the war, "big business," the corporations, "machine politics," and the "liquor and vice interests" with being responsible for their defeats, but they have sought to pose before the public as the only representatives of the will of American women, and tried, in the old-fashioned style popular with male muckrakers about ten years ago, to cast personal slurs on their women opponents. The standing of these women who oppose suffrage may be guessed when it is remembered that with them we must include such names as those of Mrs. William Howard Taft, Miss Mabel Boardman, executive head of the American Red Cross, and Miss Ida M. Tarbell, who is conceded to be America's foremost woman journalist and research expert. Space only limits the listing of thousands of other prominent women.

A syndicate article of the Suffragists a week ago stated that there was practically no difference between two of our speakers as "prevaricators." This is only a little way from the "shorter and uglier word," and, indeed, even that was included as an indirect gratuity to us at Nashville.

"The Anti-Suffragists have figures on everything," said the leading representative of the National Woman Suffrage Association there, "And we must remember that figures don't lie —but liars do figure."

Now, if the Anti-Suffragists are wrong in their facts and figures, why cannot some diligent suffrage statistician prove it, instead of resorting to her imagination for her figures, and to personal attacks in place of facts. The Anti-Suffragists are not waging a war against individuals, but against the principle of woman suffrage as it is exhibited in practical politics.

Now that the subject has been introduced we reproduce elsewhere in this issue certain figures used by Suffragist speakers at Nashville and compare them with the actual figures as furnished by the unbiased U. S. Census Bureau.

Let us consider the explanation of suffrage leaders at Nashville that "the liquor interests defeated us."

Several million men in the seven States of Ohio, Missouri, North and South Dakota, Nebraska, Nevada and Montana voted on the question of woman suffrage on November 3, 1914. In these last two States only did woman suffrage become established, though the official result is not yet known even there. The oldest and most thickly populated States, also where there are the highest proportion of women to men, were those that gave the biggest majorities against suffrage. Why?

Were the men in Nevada and Montana, where the percentage of married men is smaller than in any other State except Wyoming (where women have voted forty-five years!) the only men in the United States free from this awful liquor and vice control? In these two States less than half the men are married, and, moreover, the Suffragists call Montana the "wettest State in the Union." On the other hand, according to the census, the majority of the men are married in all five States that defeated suffrage, and thus came under the "direct influence" of their own wives in voting on suffrage, at least. Nevertheless, we are asked to believe that these several million married men who live in solid, settled and well-governed communities, were "controlled by the liquor and vice interests," while the only men free from this vicious influence were the roving miners and transitory workers of Nevada and Montana!

A suffrage speaker recently declared that "women care less for red tape than men." We will admit this is true of Suffragists, anyhow. Also, they cared less for parliamentary procedure, accuracy of statement, observance of Sunday, and even plain arithmetic at the Nashville convention. In four days' sessions they adjourned by motions but twice—the other times they got up and left when tired of wrangling.

Another feature of the suffrage convention in Nashville was that it was the first time that newspaper men present had seen such a thing as a purely political meeting on a Sunday afternoon. But that is not all. The Socialists of Nashville turned out in force that Sunday afternoon, and marched to the auditorium with blazing banners inscribed as follows, with "votes for women" flags, in red and yellow, draped from either side: "Two million Socialists will vote for woman suffrage in 1916," and "Every Socialist is a Suffragist." Of course, there are not 2,000,000 Socialists—but figures never worry Socialists or Suffragists. Is this the sort of thing we are to have if women vote—politics and socialism, instead of Christianity and religion as an observance of the Lord's day? No prayers were offered, and only the mocking comparison noted that the gathering was like "a good congregation of the old revival days," while the socialist banners were brought in and held in honor at the rear of the hall.

This was not a group of a "few individuals" who "do not represent all Suffragists," but it was the largest representative gathering of American suffrage associations ever held, and every part of the program had the sanction and co-operation of the 316 delegates representating the fifty-three associations in the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

Do such things interest the American people as more than a passing curiosity? They should. Suffragists are telling people they want the vote to protect and dignify women. Does it add to woman's dignity to go to political mass meetings with Socialists instead of to church on Sunday? to learn to play politics more shamelessly than men? to become adept at slandering her sincere sister women of different opinion? This is one of the startling realities which we must soberly study, and not the pretty platitudes and imaginary statistics with which some clever suffrage orator tries to beguile us.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES ON A MATTER OF PUBLIC POLICY

THE following letter was sent recently to President Wilson to acquaint him with certain phases of recent suffrage activity bearing on the question of a National Amendment now being agitated by the Suffragists:

NEW YORK CITY, *November* 27, 1914.

HON. WOODROW WILSON,
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

Your Excellency: Realizing the dismal failure of their cause to get popular indorsement at the polls at the recent election, a delegation of Suffragists, we believe for the eighth time, have arranged to plead with you again at an early date to lend the great influence of your office as Chief Executive of this nation towards the Congressional enactment of amendments to the Constitution that would take from the different States the deciding power of the voters, or else allow a small minority of dissatisfied women to annoy the legislatures and electors at every session and election with the question of woman suffrage.

In the name of more than twenty million mature women in America who are not Suffragists, we protest against the enactment of national legislation that would nullify the expressed will of the majority of men and women in the separate States to decide this issue according to their constitutional provisions. As a proof of the growing unpopularity of "votes for women" we respectfully submit to you the following facts and figures:

1. Woman suffrage is the only movement among women that is opposed by State and national organization on the part of other women.

2. After 65 years of constant agitation and recruiting on the part of Suffragists, their national membership, estimated on representation of 53 suffrage associations certified to by their credentials committee at their recent national convention at Nashville, is under 200,000 for the entire United States, or less than 1 per cent. of the 24,555,754 mature women in America It is also strikingly significant that in the States where women vote, and where it is natural to look for the most women organized to help obtain the franchise for their sisters, if beneficial, only 6,700 members of suffrage associations appear to exist according to the credential report; and none of the four oldest suffrage States, Colorado, Utah, Wyoming and Idaho, was interested enough to represent itself by delegation at the national suffrage convention.

3. The defeats at the recent election on woman suffrage were strikingly in proportion to the preponderance of women in the population, and to the proportion of married men, who were directly influenced by their wives in voting on this question, according to the following table, compiled from the U. S. Census:

	Men to Women	*Married Men*	*Majority Against Woman Suffrage*
Ohio	104 to 100	58%	182,905
Missouri	105 to 100	56%	140,206
Nebraska	111 to 100	54%	10,104
North Dakota.	118 to 100	50%	10,000 unofficial
South Dakota.	122 to 100	50.4%	8,000 unofficial

Whereas Montana and Nevada voted for suffrage with these ratios:

	Men to Women	*Married Men*	*Majority for Woman Suffrage*
Nevada	220 to 100	41%	Not determined
Montana	152 to 100	42%	(Indefinite until last of December)

Montana and Nevada are thus shown to be the only States of the seven where over three-fifths of the population is male, and over half the mature male population unmarried, and much further significance is attached to this comparison when we reflect that even in these two States, the settled communities where permanent homes are most numerous, voted against suffrage in some cases nearly two to one, with the exception of Goldfield and Tonopah, where the socialist vote was exceedingly strong.

Besides, Nevada and Montana have often been called the "blackest and wettest States in the Union" by the Suffragists themselves. In Nevada a direct appeal for the saloon vote was made by an advertisement signed by two officers of their suffrage organization. In Montana the W. C. T. U. was denied a place in a suffrage parade for fear of offending the "liquor interests." The defeat of the "cause" in the other five States, coming as a supplement to the overwhelming defeats of suffrage at the polls in 1913 in Ohio, Wisconsin and Michigan, is an indication that "votes for women" are repudiated decisively in the most progressive and populous communities.

4. A favorite argument with the Suffragists is that "the women should be consulted" in politics. We ask that the women be consulted on this issue above all others. The Suffragists, on the other hand, dare not propose "letting the women decide," and their most famous advocates and apologists have specifically declined to approve the will of the majority of women. But we would have every statesman and scholar in America seriously consider the fact that the vote against woman suffrage in the recent election corresponded with the proportion of women available to advise their husbands, fathers, sons and brothers on the franchise question.

5. These great popular majorities against woman suffrage in the last three years have been, in the case of single States (Michigan, Wisconsin, Ohio and Missouri) double, triple and quadruple the total majorities by which suffrage was established in five States—California, Washington, Kansas, Arizona and Oregon, where the total pluralities aggregated only 44,000.

6. The defeats of woman suffrage at second elections, where the most popular education on the subject was present, have been so decisive as to demonstrate a constantly growing opposition to "votes for women" in proportion to the increase of public enlightenment as to the radical tendencies and revolutionary alliances of its advocates. Michigan defeated suffrage in 1912 by 760 votes—in 1913 by 96,112; Ohio defeated suffrage in 1912 by 87,000—in 1914 by 182,905.

7. It is the avowed purpose of the Suffragists to sweep aside the decisions of popular majorities by national legislation, as announced at their recent convention by their congressional leader, who said the national amendment they desire "would make the Governor of a State powerless to stop suffrage." She alluded to the Governor of Wisconsin, who vetoed a second submission of suffrage to the electors immediately after its defeat at the polls by 91,000 majority. That the suffragists are not advocating merely a national initiative law in the Shafroth-Palmer amendment is proved by their overwhelming refusal, in convention assembled, to approve any national initiative and referendum legislation not having for its object the enfranchisement of women.

We are confident that the Chief Executive of this great nation will not lend his influence to the cause of a small minority of women who seek to gain their own ends by undemocratic dis-

regard of both States' rights and the will of the people. As for the threats and demands the Suffragists will make you in the name of the voting women of eleven suffrage States, their absolute impotence to control or deliver the vote of enfranchised women is proved by the following facts:

The "blacklist" against Congressmen and Senators was a suffrage boomerang; the "war on Democrats" another. Their failure in national convention to get the support of suffrage States was a third proof of their political poverty. And the well-known indifference of most women who have the ballot to use it at all, much less at the dictation of suffrage leaders, is a final demonstration that the National American Woman Suffrage Association is not a political power, but a mere state of mind with a small, nervous, but noisy fraction of women who are discontented with the democracy that has made the United States greatest among the nations of the earth.

We feel entirely confident that you will re-affirm to this delegation of Suffragists your opposition to national legislation designed to throttle the will of the people and the principles of local self-government, and impose upon women a political burden, to remain free from which the overwhelming majority consider and esteem a precious privilege.

Very respectfully,

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE.
MRS. ARTHUR M. DODGE,
President.

HOW THE FEDERAL AMENDMENT AFFECTS THE SOUTH

SIGNIFICANT news came from the National Woman Suffrage convention, in Nashville, in November. It concerns the determined attempt of Suffragists to enforce upon the country as a whole through a Federal amendment a measure which the individual States, including legislatures and electorates, have voted down.

Dr. Shaw said in the convention: "All we ask of men is that they believe the things they say, and when they say this is a government of, by and for the people, that they will believe it."

"Government of, by and for the people" may not have been intended to mean *"what the people want."* Nevertheless, that is the general construction placed upon the phrase.

Consequently it would seem that Dr. Shaw's convention said one thing and meant another when it applauded to the echo Mrs. Antoinette Funk's report on her committee's effort to secure congressional action on suffrage. Mrs. Funk is the author of the Shafroth-Palmer amendment which proposes that when 8 per cent. of the voters of any State sign a petition, the question is submitted to the people, a majority vote determining the result. Mrs. Funk stated that this amendment was merely an expedient designed to pave the way for the "Susan B. Anthony Federal Amendment, which reads:

"The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex. Congress shall have the power by appropriate legislation to enforce the provisions of this article."

How this scheme appeals to States where the negro vote is large is explained by an article in the Macon (Ga.) *Telegraph:*

"Think of such an initiative—only 8 per cent. of the voters of the previous election!

"The organized women's clubs would have no difficulty in securing the signatures of only 8 per cent. of the voters. In the West there are special firms for this business. It is reduced to an art, and women signature-procurers are preferred. They are paid so much per hundred. No political traffic has caused greater scandal. The field is inviting for graft. Mrs. McCormick calls the Shafroth scheme the 'initiative and referendum' put into active national practice by order of Congress. Mrs. McCormick says 'the South does not want the Susan B. Anthony amendment because it does not eliminate the negro, but by the Shafroth plan it is expected to get thirty-six States committed, and that done Congress will pass the Anthony amendment conferring suffrage on all without regard to color or sex.'

"Such is what the South must soon confront. Thinking men shudder, but so many do not think. We find cities vieing with each other even in the South to entertain Dr. Anna Shaw's convention; thus, for the sake of trade, popularizing the movement to fasten this scheme on the South."

That this idea of imposing their opinions upon States which shudder at the prospect is at the root of suffrage activities is further indicated by Mrs. Funk's statements in the convention. She declared that the opposing Senators and Representatives "will only change when we get enough States to say: 'You vote the way we want you to on a national amendment!'" This statement was followed by great applause.

AFTERMATHS OF THE WESTERN CAMPAIGN

THE campaign which has just ended has in some respects been the most bitter and vicious of any in the history of the Suffragists' struggle for the ballot.

Wherever the speakers of our Association appeared they encountered a spirit of vilification and bitterness that culminated, in some instances, in vicious verbal attacks, sometimes in personal slanders and in one instance at least an attempt to do positive bodily harm.

The President of the National Suffrage Association indulged in mild (?) expletives like "liar" and "big fool." A daily paper in Montana became involved in a suit for slander for its vilifications. In the City of Butte, Montana, the anti-suffrage meetings were disturbed by dozens of Suffragists going in and out of the halls during the addresses. In Goldfield, Nevada, this disturbance was carried on by loud talking and hisses and finally by a counter demonstration in the lobby of the theater.

In Tonopah, Nevada, at the close of a meeting addressed by Miss Bronson, about twenty persons, some Suffragists, some Socialists, some I. W. W.'s, rushed on to the platform and began to heckle the speaker. So threatening was their attitude that Judge Cook, who introduced Miss Bronson, and another gentleman who had been in the audience, quickly joined her, fearing harm was intended. One suggested sending for the police, but Miss Bronson declared her ability to handle the situation.

Miss Bronson was detained for nearly half an hour, but her friends finally terminated the debate and she returned to the hotel. Fifteen minutes afterward the theater was in flames and in another fifteen minutes the roof fell in. Fourteen dwelling houses were burned as well.

There was no question but that the fire was incendiary and a few days after a number of suspects were arrested and put in jail, where previously dictographs had been installed. The prisoners talked to each other of the fire and when confronted with a dictograph record the leader of the gang, Thomassen, made a full confession, implicating McGuicken and Russell, declaring that they had been sent on to the stage to detain Miss Bronson until he could plant the chemicals, which consisted of yellow phosphorus wrapped in wet cloths and covered with light shavings.

When asked if he did not regret having exposed women to the danger of fire, he replied, "No, I am only sorry we couldn't keep them long enough to catch them."

Thomassen has been tried and sentenced to the penitentiary for not less than twenty and not more then twenty-one years. McGuicken and Russell, who detained Miss Bronson while Thomassen set the fire, have not yet been placed on trial.

The Woman's Journal exults in the fact that the counties in Montana bordering on Idaho gave large majorities for woman suffrage. Idaho has the largest woman population in the United States, except Utah, over 30 per cent. of the population of the State is Mormon, and the Mormon Church holds the balance of power. The Mormon Church votes solidly for woman suffrage as a means of perpetuating its heirarchy. The largest proportion of the Mormons in Montana are found in the counties bordering on Idaho and which gave large majorities for woman suffrage.

How It Looks from the Suffrage Side

"It was a wonderful adventure and had splendid results, but I absolutely wouldn't go through it again for $1,000,000 as bad as 'the cause' wants funds," said Miss Margaret Foley of Boston, who campaigned Nevada for suffrage. Miss Foley, according to the Boston *Record*, visited every mining camp in the State where even a half dozen men could be reached, traveling sometimes from 90 to 100 miles over the roughest trails and in the roughest company, oftentimes finding herself the only woman in the camp and miles from the nearest habitation.

"I slept," she said, "in sheds without bed clothing, no locks on the doors and nothing but canvass partitions in the hotels, when there was a hotel at all, and when there was it was full of drunken miners."

If this is the kind of work women must do in politics; if these are the conditions under which the vote is to be won and when won controlled, will woman suffrage prove a blessing and will it pay? If this is what woman suffrage means, it is time to stop the agitation.

OPPORTUNITY KNOCKS FOR FEMINISTS IN VAIN

By Julia T. Waterman

IF the Suffragists had been in earnest in their war on men, what an opportunity is theirs to-day! Men are at an obvious disadvantage. All that women have to do is to take and hold the positions made vacant by the call to military service, and they could all secure economic independence. Mills have ceased to operate, factories are shut down, great department stores are closed, and yet women do not take their chance. Why this hesitancy? What rôles are the women filling? Are they snatching power from men and making themselves indispensable to the State as satisfactory substitutes? Or are they setting their faces against war and refusing to co-operate? Neither one or the other. Thousands of women are indeed taking men's places in minor employments, not with the desire to permanently supplant them however, but only to free more men for service. Millions are working for the soldiers in woman's traditional way, sewing, nursing, managing affairs, cooking and canvassing.

And what has become of the theory that woman to a unit would oppose war? Except for a futile and notoriety-seeking peace parade, women are standing as always with their men, showing their patriotism in a thousand useful unostentatious ways, bearing their hardships with silent, uncomplaining courage.

The Queen of the Belgians is not a Suffragette and has not put her sex before her country. The Queen of England is encouraging and heartening the soldiers of England by her sympathy and example. The Crown Princess of Germany stands in her carriage to read aloud triumphant dispatches to her people and in every belligerent country societies of women are working for the army in practical ways. So great is the feminine enthusiasm about war that Lady Cooke has offered to arm and equip an Amazon brigade (which somehow suggests the Amazon chorus of the erstwhile popular extravaganza), but the Suffragists are singularly reticent about urging on women to seize this unique opportunity for getting once for all a firm seat in the saddle of economic independence. The most obscure woman in Europe to-day is the lately notorious Mrs. Pankhurst. Perhaps she is sulking in her tents because Kitchener fills the only position to which her talents would be suited. Perhaps she fears some Anti may cruelly draw an analogy between the destruction of Rheims and the bomb throwing in Westminster Abbey (where the spirit was willing, but the flesh was weak). All we know is that since real war has begun, sham war seems ridiculous and the noisy advocates of equality of the sexes are not demanding either any very prominent places in the trenches or the government.

The Suffragists disdain woman's work, but they do not seriously aspire to men's. Where are they to be found? So far we have seen but one mention in English papers of any organized effort on their part. They were asking for funds to pay salaries to women whose business it was to be to make camp-followers behave with propriety. This appeal was signed by Mrs. Fawcett, Edith Davidson and others, and if it met with the reception it deserved was probably not remarkably successful. In the meantime Lady French, in the direct traditional manner of the woman who gets results, is asking for thousands of scarfs and belts to clothe the soldiers and employing regularly a large number of women in executing her commands. So far as we have been able to judge from close observation, the Suffragette, both in war and peace, is the arch parasite on a long-suffering and bewildered public. Their boasted economic independence only means coaxing contributions in order to support a number of women in the illusion of work. Chaperoning camp-followers is their latest invention in the way of a salaried position at the public's expense. A greater hoax was never suggested. Meanwhile the factories stand idle and the shops close for want of men. It is a pity that, since the Suffragette is too proud to work, she should not also be ashamed to beg. The much-vaunted economic independence is as far away as ever, though the (more than) equal opportunity is here in all countries at war.

WHY FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE OPPOSED SUFFRAGE

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE, in writing to Harriet Martineau on sending her copies of her notes, said: "The Report is in no sense public property. And I have a great horror of its being made use of after my death by *Women's Missionaries* and those kinds of people. I am brutally indifferent to the wrongs or rights of my sex. And I should have been equally so to any controversy as to whether women ought or ought not to do what I have done for the Army; tho' a woman having the opportunity and *not* doing it, ought, I think, to be burnt alive."

Why was Florence Nightingale "indifferent to the 'wrongs' or 'rights'" of her sex? She accomplished what she did without a "vote." She had a horror of it and its advocates.

In the words of E. T. Cook's "Life of Florence Nightingale": "Her popular fame added to the authority with which her experience and her services invested her. There were others who knew, or might have known, the facts as well as she. There were few who could exercise the same influence, and perhaps there was not one who could judge the facts with the same disinterestedness. She was not a politician. She had no party to defend, no official to shield, no susceptibilities to consider. She had nothing to gain, nothing to lose, nothing to fear."

What Florence Nightingale herself thought of Woman's Rights is revealed in a letter to Mme. Mohl:

"But some things I disagree with and more I do not understand. This does not apply to the characters, but to your conclusions; *e. g.*, you say 'women are more sympathetic than men.' Now if I were to write a book out of my experience, I should begin: 'Women have no sympathy.' Yours is the tradition and mine is the conviction of experience. I have never found one woman who has altered her life one iota for me or my opinions. Now look at my experience of men. A statesman, past middle age, absorbed in politics for a quarter of a century, out of sympathy with me, remodels his whole life and policy, learns a science the dryest, the most technical, the most difficult, that of administration, as far as it concerns the lives of men—not as I learnt it in the field from stirring experience, but by writing dry regulations in a London room. This is what I call real sympathy. Another (Alexander, whom I made Director-General) does very nearly the same thing. He is dead, too. Clough, a poet born if ever there was one, takes to nursing administration in the same way, for me. I only mention three whose whole lives were remodelled by sympathy for me. But I could mention very many others. Farr, MacNeil, Tulloch, Storks, Martin, who in a lesser degree have altered their work by my opinions. And, the most wonderful of all, a man born without a soul, like Undine, all these elderly men.

"Now just look at the degree in which women have sympathy, as far as my experience is concerned—and my experience of women is almost as large as Europe—and it is so intimate too. I have lived and slept in the same bed with English countesses and Prussian bauerinned. No Roman Catholic superieure has ever had charge of women of the different creeds that I have had. No woman has excited 'passions' among women more than I have. Yet I leave no school behind me. My doctrines have taken no hold among women. Not one of my Crimean following learnt anything from me, or gave herself for one moment after she came home to carry out the lesson of that war or those hospitals. * * * No woman that I know has ever *appris a apprendre.* And I attribute this to want of sympathy. You say somewhere that women have no attention. Yes. And I attribute this to want of sympathy. * * * It makes me mad, the Women's Rights talk about the 'want of a field' for them, when I know that I would gladly give five hundred pounds a year for a woman secretary. And two English lady superintendents have told me the same thing. And we can't get *one.* * * * They don't know the names of the Cabinet ministers. They don't know the offices at the Horse Guards. They don't know who of the day is dead and who is alive. They don't know which of the churches has bishops and which not. Now I'm sure I did not know these things when I went to the Crimea. I did not know a colonel from a corporal. But there are such things as army lists and almanacs. Yet I never could find a woman who, out of sympathy, would consult one for my work. The only woman I ever influenced by sympathy was one of those lady superintendents I have named. Yet she is, like me, overwhelmed with her own business. * * * Women crave *for being loved,* not for loving. They scream out to you for sympathy all day long; they are incapable of giving any in return, for they cannot remember your affairs long enough to do so. * * * They cannot state a fact accurately to another, nor can that other attend to it accurately enough for it to become information. Now is not all this the result of want of sympathy?"

At another time she wrote: "In one way I do believe I am 'like a man,' as Partee says. But how? In having sympathy."

And again to the Secretary of State: "I feel this is no time for compliments or false shame and that you will never hear the whole truth, troublesome as it is, except from one independent of promotion."

In describing to the Secretary of State certain sanitary reforms which she carried out in the hospitals of Scutari, she wrote: "I must pay my tribute to the instinctive delicacy, the ready attention of orderlies and patients during all that dreadful period. For my sake they performed services of this kind (which they neither would for the sake of discipline nor for that of the importance to their own health, which they did not know), and never was there one word nor one look which a gentleman would not have used; and while paying this humble tribute to humble courtesy, the tears come into my eyes as I think how, amid scenes of loathsome disease and death, there rose above it all that innate dignity, gentleness and chivalry of men (for never surely was chivalry so strikingly exemplified), shining in the midst of what must be considered as the lowest sinks of human misery, and preventing instinctively the use of one expression which could distress a gentlewoman."

—J. T. W.

An anti-suffrage writer to the *Times* says that women could stop war if they were to throw themselves in a body in front of the advancing armies. We think not. They would be gently put aside, unless they could remove the *casus belli.*

If Suffragettes wished to stop war they should have thrown their bombs at the Krupp Factory or the English fleet, not at churches and country houses.

Suffragettes have decided to drop the subject in England so long as the war is on and not to recommence their disagreeable antics until the peace is signed. It would indeed be an injudicious moment to mention equal political rights while the cannon roar and equality rights suggest equal duty. We will therefore hear nothing of equal rights until the recruiting is over. This is quite according to suffrage ethics.

MORE LIGHT ON THE "LIQUOR INTERESTS" BUGABOO

DESPITE all the evidence and proof to the contrary, *The Woman's Journal* of Boston (a suffrage organ) continues its attempts to associate the Anti-Suffragist organization with the liquor interests.

This is an old method of attack, known to and used by politicians of the lower sort as an effective way of concealing their own iniquities.

Let us ascertain the truth.

It is true that suffrage organizations have solicited campaign funds from the liquor interests. The liquor interests have declared: "Experience has proved that we have nothing to fear from woman suffrage."

It is also true that the anti-suffrage organization has never either solicited or received one cent of money from any individual or organization connected with the liquor interests.

The Anti-Suffragists court publicity on this subject. Do the Suffragists?

"It is the age-old law of the jungle, men fight with paws and women with claws," said Mrs. Florence Goff Schwarz in discussing the accusation of the *Woman's Journal* which, in its issue of October 31st, asserts that anti-suffrage articles signed by Mrs. Schwarz, together with a picture of Mrs. A. J. George, noted anti-suffrage speaker, appeared in the *Liberal Advocate*, a liquor publication of Ohio. The *Woman's Journal* also stated that literature of an offensive character purporting to come from Suffragists had been mailed to Ohio voters.

Mrs. Schwarz's statement follows:

"Stung to desperation by their overwhelming defeat, the Suffragists resort to accusation as a salve to their wounded feelings, and seek to mislead the public by stating half truths without the illuminating explanation which would make the matter simple enough in conclusion.

"Anti-suffrage literature did appear in the *Liberal Advocate*, but through no intent of the Anti-Suffragists. I was delegated by Mrs. H. E. Talbott, the State President, to take charge of the State press work, which I did, syndicating same through the American Press Association, which has a branch office in Cincinnati, but whose main office is in Columbus. Our press work was first submitted to the local agent, who transferred it to the Columbus office and it received State-wide syndication from that point. Our press matter was public property, for it was not copyrighted. Since we offered it to the public, we could not prevent any publication from using it which chose to do so. Ninety other papers of Ohio printed our output, as well as did the *Liberal Advocate*. The *Advocate* was not sponsor for our articles as the suffrage paper tried to make it appear. The moment I discovered that the *Advocate* was printing our matter I wired its editor requesting him to discontinue, knowing that the Suffragists would immediately use the fact as an argument. The editor courteously acceded to my request, although had he chosen to continue printing the matter I would have had no recourse, since public press material is public property, as every one knows, except apparently—the Suffragists.

"Concerning the 'literature of an offensive character purporting to come from Suffragists,' our Association did issue excerpts taken from a book which was marked 'Special.....Edition' blank spaces being filled with the name of the Honorary President of one of Cincinnati's largest suffrage clubs. We issued these excerpts that the public might be enlightened regarding the theories now being advocated and taught by many Suffragists and which, so far as we have been able to discern, have not been repudiated by the afore-mentioned suffrage association, which still retains its honorary president, notwithstanding the publicity we have given to the book which she has sponsored. That the Suffragists refer to it as 'literature of an offensive character' may be taken as a hopeful sign that they are not wholly in favor of its teachings. The Suffragists method of giving out news reminds me of the Dutchman who, when asked to take an oath with hand upraised, said: 'I solemnly schwear to tell the truth, the whole truth, undt noddink of the truth.'"

The *Liberal Advocate* has also issued a statement regarding the source of the anti-suffrage matter printed in its columns. This statement is as follows:

Editor of Woman's Journal:

We note in your issue of October 31st that you are accusing the liquor interests of fighting the woman suffrage amendment in seven States. We want to correct you on this matter, as far as Ohio is concerned. We know nothing about the other States.

You attack the *Liberal Advocate* of Columbus as sponsor for an article published by Anti-Suffragists carrying a picture of Mrs. George. This article was sent to us by the American Press Association, as any other matter is sent to us from that concern, many pages containing matter both for and against this proposition. We simply published this article because we thought it had merit. We positively deny that we are lined up with any suffrage or anti-suffrage organizations.

We are just as liable to publish suffrage as well as anti-suffrage matter if the article appeals to us. We do not know Mrs. George, but we do know that not a line was published against suffrage from the pen of our editor in this campaign.

We do know that one of your leaders declared in Chicago that the suffrage organization would put the saloons out of business. If you want the data on this we will look it up and will mail it to you. We would appreciate a retraction in your paper of your charge.

Thanking you, we remain,

Yours respectfully,

(Signed) OTTO KEMMLER,

Editor *Liberal Advocate*,

Columbus, Ohio.

In this State the men voted against extending larger liberality toward the liquor interests; also they voted against extension of woman suffrage to women. They did differently in Montana, where they voted in favor of equal suffrage and for a law legalizing prize fighting. The contrast between the two adjoining States is so clearly marked as to render it both notable and novel.—*Vermillion* (S. D.) *Republican.*

We regret to say that in California, with equal suffrage in full force for the first time, prohibition was defeated by over 150,000 majority. And not only that but, worse still, by way of a cincher, the proposition to prevent any vote on the prohibition question for the next succeeding eight years was also carried. Thus it is evident that universal suffrage and statewide prohibition do not necessarily trudge along hand in hand.—*Exchange.*

There are two townships in Turner County where our equal suffrage friends have need to do a good deal of work before the next vote is taken on the suffrage question. One is Rosefield where the vote was 1 to 57 against suffrage and another is Childstown where the vote was 3 to 65 against. In the main, suffrage made a much better showing in the towns and cities than it did in the rural precincts.—*Sioux Falls Argus-Leader.*

THE DOUBLED MAJORITY IN OHIO AGAINST SUFFRAGE

AFTER a campaign in which house to house canvasses were made, scores of workers speaking and organizing in every county of the State, and every possible method of bringing the suffrage arguments to the people strenuously enforced by the suffrage campaigners, the proposal to adopt equal suffrage in Ohio was defeated by the voters of the State at the recent election by a majority of 182,905. This is an increase over the defeating majority registered two years ago on the same subject of 96,000 votes. And it would seem to indicate that if the Suffragists attempt a third election, as they are threatening to do again in two years, their measure will go down to defeat then by about 300,000 majority, a rather discouraging sort of progress for the movement, one would think.

And not only is this majority an increased one in actual numbers, but in the per cent. of the whole vote cast. The margin of victory for the Antis last time was 17 per cent. of the total vote cast; this time 22 per cent.

Some more facts about the Ohio figures are particularly interesting this year, especially in connection with the poor, frazzled, raveled-out charge that "the liquor interests did it."

Facts are rarely of much interest to a defeated party; theories are much more interesting. But here are the facts for those who care for them:

The Home Rule Measure, the "wet" or "liquor measure," won in Ohio by a poor frightened 8,300 majority—less than one-twentieth of the anti-suffrage majority. Yet Suffragists say it was that liquor vote that did it! Prohibition was defeated by 83,371 —considerably less than half of the suffrage defeating majority. And 179,132 voters voted FOR PROHIBITION who did NOT vote FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE. Two hundred and forty-eight thousand six hundred and fifty-nine voted on the liquor measure who did not care enough about suffrage to vote either way.

But, as we said, facts are rarely interesting to a defeated party. And so we expect that we shall continue to hear, "It was the liquor fight which did it."

The Suffragist attitude during the campaign may well have so confused many people interested in one way or another on the matter of prohibition that they dared not take a chance either way.

During the greater part of the active campaign time, the leaders and some of their speakers were declaring from the street corners and in halls that there was no connection between the two problems. They were denying that any one had any right to quote them as being for prohibition. They gave these same declarations out in interviews to the papers. They requested permission to address "wet" mass meetings. "Wet" leaders came out with "wet" platforms for suffrage, and the Suffragists thanked them for it. The only resolution passed by any body of men during the active campaign time was FOR "Home Rule," the liquor measure, and FOR Woman Suffrage.

Then their tactics changed, and in the last week they began their customary charges of liquor collusion with the Antis.

It was all quite confusing to a mind untrained in politics.

The Suffragists boasted that while they had thousands of workers through the State the Antis had only twelve campaigners. The result would be extremely complimentary to the active twelve, were it not realized that the thousands of women who were not active in any way, who hardly bothered to voice their views on the question outside their homes were in the end the determining force.

"My wife doesn't believe in woman suffrage." THAT was what defeated woman suffrage in Ohio. That was the gentle slogan spoken by hundreds of thousands of men on election morning and the day before, with no idea they were uttering a campaign cry which piled up that majority against politicalizing humanity to the numbers of 182,905.

And when the first hysteria of defeat was over, when the Suffragists leaders who were there in Ohio had read the final figures and knew that they could not lay the result to the liquor interests, the reactionary tendency, or any other political power, then they realized the compelling, irrefutable, victorious force of that simple statement, "My wife doesn't believe in it."

And then they acknowledged the fact and said to the press and the public of Ohio, "We must educate the women. That's where our weakness lies. The women were against us." Those thousands of women who were not campaigning on either side.

So now the seekers for political power for women insist "We must educate the women. Their husbands always vote as they say." And the Suffragists newspapers of the State agree and say, "Educate the women. Their husbands vote as they say. And it will take campaigning off the streets to work with them."

What is the exact Anti-Suffragist stand? It is the women who have at least half to say in controlling government destiny now, we say, because the vote goes as they say if they are interested in a question, and we want to keep woman's campaigning off the streets.

And 517,977 voters of Ohio agreed with us on November 3.

We must admit, however, that more than a dozen women were working against suffrage in Ohio, whether their work would fall into the formal "campaigning" line or not. Strong organizations in Cincinnati, Columbus, Dayton and Cleveland distributed literature, furnished speakers to meetings, took part in debate and in every possible way consistent with anti-suffrage ideals were impressing upon the voters of the State not only that the women did not want to vote, but that they wanted not to vote, and that they had very definite and rational reasons for their opposition. Mrs. A. J. George of Boston, Miss Emmaline Pitt of Pittsburgh, Mrs. Florence Goff Schwarz of Cincinnati and Miss Lucy Price of Cleveland spoke throughout the State.

The Suffragists at Nashville Stand Corrected

TWO successive and prominent speakers rose at the National Suffrage Convention at Nashville to point out that women "need the ballot because nearly nine million women are working outside the home." The Antis do not go to the trouble of even caring whether their inaccuracy is deliberate or merely due to ignorance. We simply refer the investigator to the census report of occupations, issued June 20, 1914, in which it is shown only 8,075,772 feminine workers over ten years of age were employed in all gainful occupations in homes or anywhere else in America at the last census, and, furthermore, indicates that even this number is perhaps too great and should be 7,607,672 (P. 27, Volume IV). Of these, 4,338,337, or over half, are employed as domestic or in agricultural pursuits, where every woman who makes butter or sells eggs for market is included. If Suffragists cannot confine their oratory to the actual number of women the census shows to be "working outside the home" (3,974,957), and cannot mention that the census also shows 20,346,961 women engaged inside of the 17,805,845 homes that house our 20,255,555 families; or, further, that of the 24,555,754 women in America over twenty-one, 20,518,833 are, or have been, married, we won't quibble about their honor or fairness—we only show the ridiculous contrast between suffrage statistics and the United States Census.

CAUSE AND RESULT OF VOTE IN WESTERN STATES

NORTH DAKOTA

IN our State we are using only the figures obtained from the county auditors. Thus far, we have official returns from thirty-four of the fifty counties, which report a total actual "Yes and No" vote upon the question of 59,051. In this we have a majority of 9,440, that is, of those actually voting upon the question.

The provision under which the vote was taken required the majority of those voting at the election to actually vote "Yes" upon this question. We have no present means of knowing how many failed to vote, and therefore cannot tell how far short the Suffragists will fall of the actual votes necessary to carry. It will probably be about 15,000.

Another interesting fact is that the campaign cry of the Suffragists was that we were in league with the liquor and vice interests generally. The figures do not seem to bear this out. Every one of the Red River Valley Counties, viz.: the row of counties lying along the eastern border of the State—Pembina, Walsh, Grand Forks, Traill, Cass and Richland—counted as "Dry" counties, gave a majority against suffrage, the combined majorities of these counties for us being 3,188.

It is a curious fact that most of the counties giving a majority for suffrage are not in the "Dry" part of the State, but are in the western part of the Missouri slope.

The election returns in this State also give additional proof that our women do not want to vote and will not vote.

Women already vote on school questions, that is, they have the privilege of voting.

We contend that South Dakota women do not want to vote, and gave figures to prove it during the campaign. These were taken from the election records, but, notwithstanding this, they were called "crooked and unfair" by the Suffragists. What will they say about the women's vote at the last election? There was the usual interest in educational matters, with two candidates for State Superintendent, to induce them to vote, and, more important still, the issue had been made that the women did not want to vote. Surely, after the vigorous campaign on this question, those who wanted to use the ballot would come out and vote. How many women voted? Practically, the same as before.

A few illustrations will demonstrate this: In Cass County, including Fargo, the home of the "Votes for Women League," 4,827 men voted and 196 women. In Stutsman County, the headquarters of the "W. C. T. U." and the home of Mrs. Elizabeth Preston Anderson, who campaigned for suffrage for ten months, 2,580 men voted and 55 women. In Barnes County, where many prominent Suffragists reside, 2,365 men voted and 85 women. In Ramsey County 2,719 men voted and 27 women. In Traill County 1,784 men voted and 48 women.

To be sure, in some counties where there was a hot local campaign on County Superintendent, a great many more women got out to the polls, but in no case did the number begin to equal that of the men.

SOUTH DAKOTA

LAST reports from South Dakota give the majority against woman suffrage as something over 9,000. Commenting on this majority, the *Pierre Dakotan* says, editorially:

"The Suffragettes who can see a ray of hope for their cause in the fact that the majority may be below 10,000 have another guess coming. The vote on suffrage was at least 10,000 below that for governor, which indicates that many voters were not in favor of suffrage. Then the total vote was 20,000 off, which means that that many voters are not particularly interested in suffrage and the chances are that if they had voted they would have voted against it. So it is a safe proposition to state that the State, if a full vote were out is any way 40,000 against the proposition. Already the suffrage papers are beginning to talk of another election two years from now. The *Dakotan* believes that a question once submitted and voted down should not again be submitted for at least five years. We believe that such a law should be placed upon the statute books. Elections are expensive and nerve racking and we can see no sense whatever in being compelled to go through a suffrage campaign every two years. If the ladies could not win this year they cannot expect to win two years from now. They had full swing, there was no organized opposition to them, so they repeatedly stated, and if that is true and they could not win, how can they expect to win two years from now. While the national association which is opposed to suffrage did not conduct an active campaign this year they have served notice that they will at once perfect an active association in South Dakota and if this is true the ladies would not have as smooth sailing as they had during the campaign which has just closed."

Suffragists in South Dakota stated that the Anti-Suffragists would have headquarters on election day "in every saloon and gambling hall in the State." This is amusing, in view of the fact that for years all saloons in the State have been kept closed by law all day election day.

MONTANA

THE Montana Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage met after election at the home of Mrs. John Noyes, looked over its accounts, audited its bills and ordered all claims against the association to be paid in full. When this is done a small balance will be left in the treasury.

By common consent of the executive members this sum will be used to help some of the many needy in Butte this winter.

At this writing the official count has not been made.

To-day, if suffrage has carried, Montana faces the menace of Socialism in a greater degree than it has before. The victory, if it proves to be a victory, is one for the Socialist party, and this statement is borne out by the returns from Missoula and other socialistic strongholds, where the largest majorities were piled up for the amendment.

In Silver Bow County the Suffragists polled but a few hundred more than the Socialist vote.

Fully 2,000 voters in Silver Bow County didn't vote on the suffrage question.

Whatever the result, we feel that our association served a good purpose. It was a restraining influence at a time when radicalism was rampant.

A faithful, loyal six, who stood the brunt of the campaign, who put themselves up as targets for the enemies' darts, who worked early and late and who acknowledge the splendid support of many others, are the only ones who will ever know the sidelights that flashed and sputtered and burned while the campaign against the suffrage amendment was waged.

Through the stress of the campaign days one of the humorous features which was the subject for many a quip and jest among us was our treasury. Every day we heard of our great wealth, of the thousands of dollars we were spending for literature, of the great corporations back of us, and yet not even one of us owned an automobile.

Our association spent less than $800 to carry on its campaign, and this amount came to us by gifts from ourselves and a few friends. Not a cent was received from any corporation or society or association of people.

We believe that the time of equal suffrage is bound to come for South Dakota, but that it will have to be by Federal enactment, because the voters of South Dakota will never see it any other way.—*Canistota Clipper.*

Occupation Statistics of Importance

THOSE who are interested in the betterment of conditions for the woman who toils will find food for thought in the following paragraph from "Occupation Statistics," issued during the past summer by the Bureau of the Census:

"More than two-thirds of the persons engaged in domestic and personal service in the United States in 1910 were females, and in no other general division of occupations did the females form so large a proportion of the workers. In the South Atlantic and East South Central divisions more than three-quarters of the persons engaged in domestic and personal service were females; and in each of six different States in these two geographic divisions and in the State of Vermont females constituted over four-fifths of the persons engaged in this class of work."

Since this is true, any attempt to belittle housework and the woman who engages in this occupation is a direct attack upon our largest group of female workers. Such attacks are constantly being made by the Suffragists. By the dissemination of such doctrines the Suffragists are injuring the largest division of the very group they profess to serve, *i. e.*, the woman wage-earner.

By lifting domestic service to a higher plane we not only serve society as a whole, but also serve it in part, that part being the general occupational division in which females form the largest proportion.

Females over 10 years of age in all occupations in the United States	8,075,772
Agriculture, forestry and animal industry	1,807,501
Personal and domestic service	2,530,846
Manufacturing and mechanical pursuits	1,820,980
Trade	468,088
Clerical occupations	593,224
Professional service	733,885
Transportation	106,596
Public service (not elsewhere classified)	13,558
Extraction of minerals	1,094

Males in U. S. 47,332,277

Males in U. S. 10 years and over 37,027,558

Males in U. S. 10 years and over in gainful pursuits 30,091,564

81.3 per cent.

81.3 per cent. of males of 10 years and over are wage earners, as against 23.4 per cent. female wage earners.

United States Census, Vol. IV, on Population, dealing with Occupation Statistics:

Females in U. S.	44,639,989
Females in U. S. 10 years and over	34,552,712
Females in U. S. 10 years and over engaged in gainful occupations	8,075,772

That is: 23.4 per cent. of the females of 10 years and over in this country earn their own living.

Population Density—Its Bearing on Suffrage

IN a recent interview, Mrs. Henry Preston White, Chairman of the Publicity Committee in Massachusetts, made some interesting statements in comparing the conditions prevailing where the women have the suffrage and in the States which have this question under consideration. "Massachusetts has a population in excess of the combined population of over seven of the suffrage States—Wyoming, Arizona, Idaho, Utah, Montana, Oregon and Colorado. Boston alone has a population the equal of three suffrage States—Wyoming, Arizona and Idaho.

"Wards 20 and 21 in Boston, it might be said, have a population in excess of the total population of Nevada, which they claim to have won.

"There are ten cities in Massachusetts which have a population in excess of that of Nevada."

It is apparent that where the years have brought experience of the difficulties of popular government in densely populated areas that woman suffrage is rejected. A correspondent from Nevada writes that "where the homes are, suffrage was beaten, where the men are alone in mining camps and where the Socialists and Mormons are is where we find the majority favoring." Miss Margaret Foley, at a suffrage meeting in Boston which Dean Walter Sumner addressed, made the statement that in Nevada she went into three Mormon towns and won every Mormon vote. Anne Martin of Nevada stated at the Convention of the National Suffrage Association in Nashville, "We owe much to the Socialists."

Some of us question the possible results of an alliance acknowledged by some leaders between the institutions of Mormons and Red Socialism and Votes for Women.

Harriet Stanton Blatch declares that women are the first class to fight their battle entirely alone. She is forgetting that the Socialists, the Progressives, the Mormons and the I. W. W.'s are all staunch allies of the Suffragists. Did Mrs. Blatch not take part in the suffrage parade when the Socialists carried a banner saying "1,000,000 Socialists vote and work for suffrage"? And is she so ungrateful as to forget that the recent suffrage victory in Nevada was entirely due to the Socialists and Mormons?

"I Press the Button; You Do the Rest"

THE Suffragettes have always had the idea that government took place automatically if only they could be permitted to drop a bit of paper in a box. It was something on the principle of "I press the button, you do the rest." There was some truth in the conception, but pressing the button has quite serious responsibilities after all. It was the pressure of a button which opened the Panama Canal and even "scraps of paper" to which Miss Jane Addams attaches so little consequence have been known to bring about grave results. After all, it is just a question of how much importance we attach to the "scrap of paper" that makes it valuable. A treaty may be a "scrap of paper" or a solemn bond and covenant, according to who endorses it. A ballot may be a "scrap of paper" or an expression of intelligent and responsible opinion, according to who casts it. A man who has no respect for his word will not hesitate to sign a pledge, but he will not abide by it. A woman who regards a ballot as a scrap of paper dropped in a box will see no objection whatever to permitting anyone able to walk to the polls to use it. One might accuse such people of a slight moral obligation due to a lack of any realization of the consequences of their acts or the loss of confidence, such an attitude is bound to produce on other minds, but it would doubtless be useless to attempt to convince them of that fact. They lack imagination and logical faculty and never can anticipate consequences. They are short-sighted, and therefore bad statesmen, but a button may be pressed by President Wilson to open a canal or a button may be pressed to call a bell-boy. A scrap of paper may represent millions of dollars or millions of lives. It all depends, after all, on who presses the button and which button he presses, and on who signs the scrap of paper and what he binds himself to. We live in a period of automatic results and scraps of paper can to-day cause more damage than all the Suffragette bombs that ever were misdirected. The most dangerous element in life is, after all, the unconscious element. The Suffragists are as unconscious of their power for good as for evil. They are futile.

The voters of South Dakota believe that there is enough of disappointment in politics for men without attaching this additional trouble and worry on the women.—*Lesterville Ledger.*

"The Right to be Free from Duties"

IN the *North American Review* for November, Professor Durant Drake of Wesleyan University discusses "The Ethics of the Women's Cause." Professor Drake is inclined to predict as inevitable certain gains for the cause of "Votes for Women" which we do not admit. But, even the possession of the ballot, so he declares, "will be an imperfect victory for women."

Although we do not accept his conclusion as to the inevitableness of "Votes for Women," Professor Drake has done a distinct service in settling so clearly certain ethical principles which are involved in the woman suffrage movement particularly as indicated in the symptom of militancy.

Of the rights of women, the essayist reminds us that "The woman movement is largely an expression of wilfulness, of impatience of restraint. This can, of course, be idealized, and can awaken splendid and self-sacrificing loyalties; but we must not be misled by these. The fundamental requirements of our human nature, and the inexorable conditions of its existence, demand many sacrifices of desire. And so, however deeply we may admire and sympathize with the sex that has been so long repressed and patronizingly petted, however much we may long for women to have equally noble opportunities, and to be recognized through and through as men's comrades and equals, we must not assume that either men or women can rightly be freed from restrictions and often irksome duties.

"Certain fundamental facts cannot be ignored. Woman is a child-bearing and, more, a child-rearing animal. There is nothing humiliating in this fact, however bluntly put, any more than in the fact that man is, by necessity, a money-making animal. Of the two vocations, the one that nature decrees to women is the nobler, and, though attended with more pain, on the whole the happier. At any rate, it cannot without disaster be evaded. Children do not thrive well under institutional care; that is proved. They need the personal care, the patient, loving, skilful, endless care of mothers. If the human race is to continue, women must give the best of their strength to its perpetuation; if it is to develop its potentialities, physical, mental, moral, women must give years from their lives, the best years for the care and nurture of children. They must give preliminary years to the acquirement of the knowledge and skill that shall fit them for this greatest of vocations. And if this task is decreed by nature for women, men are, by a complementary duty, bound to work for the support of the women thus engaged, and for the children—who must be allowed, say, twenty years apiece of play- and learning-time—before they become, if men, producers; if women, in their turn child-rearers. So much division of labor is, in normal cases, inevitable.

"It would seem (though we must speak tentatively and without dogmatism on this matter, until it shall have been thoroughly threshed out) that society must insist that the normal sphere of woman lies in the making of a home and the bringing up of children—a task so arduous and exacting as to forbid its proper fulfilment side by side with any other vocation. * * * We must repeat that *it is not a question, ultimately, of what women want, but of what they ought to want, not a question of rights, but of duties.* The highest good of the community as a whole has precedence over the wishes of any class; the legislation and conventions of the future must be based not upon any plea for liberty, but upon solid considerations of general human welfare."

Suffragists Would Let Belgians Starve

"THE Obsession of Suffrage" is a new phrase describing what appears to certain far-sighted publicists to be a distinct menace to public interests.

Just how far this obsession extends was seen when a New York Woman Suffrage Association required its members to sign the "will and won't" pledge. Under its terms they agreed to give all the funds they could spare to promoting "the cause" and not to give one cent to any charity or other interest until suffrage should be obtained.

Now this obsession has advanced to a stage where Mrs. John Rogers, Jr., and Mrs. John W. Brannan, Executives of the Woman's Political Union, protest publicly in the newspapers against any one's giving any funds for the relief of the Belgian non-combatants, or other sufferers from the European war.

The leading spirit in this cold-blooded proposal declares: "I am not giving a cent or an old garment to the Red Cross and the Belgian Relief Funds.

"Surely, the more intelligent way to help them is to put the problem of the starving and the burden of the wounded right on the shoulders of the nations at war. When this is done, economic and moral forces will inevitably end the war. I say we should let them die unaided by us, yes; but the warring nations would have to support them and have just so much less for slaughtering one another. In any case, better for some to die now than sacrifice thousands more in a prolonged war.

"We have only a certain amount of time and money to give; therefore we both believe in devoting it to the one cause that more than any other will make such inhuman wars impossible in the future—votes for women."

Force Behind the Vote—Versus Anarchy

DELIA BLANCHFLOWER, the new novel of Mrs. Humphrey Ward's, deals with social conditions in England of the immediate present. Her conclusions on the subject of woman suffrage may be made plain by this quotation of a single page. The family physician is explaining to a Suffragist the necessity of the reality of bone and muscle behind the conventions of democracy. We quote:

"The parliamentary vote means the government of *men* by *men*—without which we go to pieces. And you propose now to make it include the government of men by women—which is absurd!—and if you try it, will only break up the only real government that exists, or can exist!"

"Oh! 'physical force,'" said Madeleine, contemptuously, with her nose in the air.

"Well—did I—did you—make the physical difference between men and women? Can we unmake it?"

"We are governed by discussion—not by force."

"Are we? Look at South Africa—look at Ulster—look at the labor troubles that have been, and are to be. And then you women come along with your claim to the vote! What are you doing but breaking up all the social values, weakening all the foundations of the social edifice!

"Woe! to you women, especially when you teach men to despise the vote; when men come to know that behind the paper currency of a vote which may be a man's or a woman's there is nothing but an opinion—bad or good! At present, I tell you, the great conventions of democracy hold because there is reality of bone and muscle behind them! Break down that reality—and sooner or later we come back to force again—through bloodshed and anarchy!"

"Inevitable—all the same!" cried Madeleine. "Why did you ever let us taste education?—if you are to deny us forever political equality?"

"Use your education, my dear madam!" said the doctor, indignantly. "Are there not many roads to political equality?—many forms of government within government, that may be tried, before you insist on ruining us by doing men's work in the men's way? Hasn't it taken more than a hundred years to settle that Irish question, which began with the Union? Is it a hundred years since it was a hanging matter to steal a handkerchief off a hedge? Can't you give us a hundred years for the woman question? Sixty years only, since the higher education of women began!"

PROGRESS IN NEW YORK STATE

THE New York State Association has started out with a determination to reach the voters during this coming campaign year. Letters have been written to all kinds of organizations, societies and clubs, asking permission to present the arguments in the "case against woman suffrage," and the responses with which the requests are meeting shows that there is a very wide-awake interest in this question.

For the first time we are making a definite attempt to reach the Granges, and have many engagements already through the State for our speakers. Feeling confident that every Anti-Suffragist in the State wants to do what she can this winter to help in the work, we have printed the following list of suggestions as to how individuals can help in this work:

TO ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS

Some things every woman who is OPPOSED to woman suffrage can do to help defeat it in New York State in November, 1915.

Make a practice of enclosing a piece of Anti-Suffrage literature in every letter you write, and with every bill you pay. Leaflets suitable for distribution in this way may be obtained at Headquarters, 37 West 39th Street, New York, for 35 cents per hundred.

See that your Public Library is supplied with Anti-Suffrage books and copies of THE WOMAN'S PROTEST.

Send out Anti-Suffrage post cards to voters. These may be obtained at Headquarters for 50 cents per hundred.

Write to the editors of your local papers, and ask them to use Anti-Suffrage material. Tell them that in this campaign year in New York State both sides of the question should be given a fair hearing by the press.

Tell every man you meet, your tailor, your postman, your grocer, as well as your dinner partner, that you are opposed to woman suffrage. Make him realize this is a serious question, far reaching in its consequences, affecting vitally the social and moral structure of the State and Nation, and that it would be unjust to impose the responsibility of suffrage with all that it entails upon *ALL* the women of the State because a noisy minority is clamoring for it.

If you belong to any Society, Club or Grange where the subject of woman suffrage is introduced, be sure and insist that your side is also presented.

Supply all local politicians of both parties with literature, especially with copies of THE WOMAN'S PROTEST.

Carry enrollment cards with you wherever you go, and get the names of every man and woman opposed to woman suffrage. Send them all to Headquarters, New York, where they are all kept on file and counted. We want to know how many men and women in this State are willing to take a definite stand against woman suffrage.

Subscribe to THE WOMAN'S PROTEST, the official paper issued by The National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage. If you read this every month you will realize the development and strength of the widespread movement against woman suffrage. We want 10,000 subscribers in New York.

A subscription blank is attached to this leaflet.

The Brooklyn Wage Earners' Anti-Suffrage League is engaged in a vigorous campaign. Bill-board space has been secured in a well-chosen position in the Long Island Railroad Station at Atlantic Avenue, Brooklyn. The back ground is rose color, which gives the board pleasing prominence. The poster has this inscription, which is the League's motto: "We believe the men of New York State capable of conducting the government for the benefit of both men and women."

A meeting of the executive board and the standing committee of the Buffalo Auxiliary to the New York State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage was held in the Colonial Parlor of the Genesee Hotel on Thursday morning, November 19th, at eleven o'clock.

Mrs. George W. Parkhurst was in the chair and opened the meeting with a speech of welcome to the standing committee, urging them to renewed efforts during the winter's campaign.

Mrs. William Phelps Northrup delighted the meeting with one of her witty and interesting little talks, which was frequently interrupted by applause. She laid particular stress upon the necessity of keeping civic and philanthropic work "out of politics."

Miss Mary Lewis spoke on the menace of the many "isms" connected with woman suffrage, and urged upon her audience the fact that the anti-suffrage work is not by any means all opposition, but is also constructive, especially along educational lines. Reports were made by Mrs. Sawyer for the committee on education and literature, Mrs. Neill for the committee on enrollment and Miss Lewis for the financial committee. Mrs. Bartow, Mrs. Potter and Miss Haven also spoke.

A BOOMERANG

MRS. DESHA BRECKINRIDGE, President of the Kentucky Equal Rights Association, in a recent address at the headquarters of that Association, informed her hearers that "A man's position on the woman question is the acid test of intellect." She advises that Kentucky send to its legislature only men who are in favor of suffrage. The progress which has been made by women of the State without the ballot was summarized by Mrs. Breckinridge. The winning of equal property rights for women, coguardianship of children, the raising of the age of consent, educational and health legislation were attributed to the work of the Kentucky Equal Rights Association, and all this brought about through the willingness of a "full delegation *opposed* to woman suffrage," which "Louisville has practically always sent to Frankfort," to legislate in favor of woman's rights. We Anti-Suffragists believe there is a far cry between woman's rights and woman suffrage, and Mrs. Breckinridge unconsciously delivered a very effective anti-suffrage argument in pointing it out.

COMMENT

Now the advocates of woman suffrage have learned, as have many candidates, that there are a lot of cheerful liars among the voters.—*Alexandria Herald.*

Mrs. Jewett Adams of Carson City, President of the Nevada Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, has been appointed hostess of the Nevada Building at the Panama Exposition.

The *New York Herald* of November 9th printed a despatch which credits Mrs. Harriet Taylor Treadwell, the Chicago suffrage leader, with this statement: "The Illinois law which requires that men and women voters tell their ages when registering is making liars of us all." Many suffrage leaders, the *Herald* correspondent asserts, contend that a woman voter is so startled when asked her age that she usually votes at random.

In the "Dry and Suffrage" parade in Columbus, Ohio, the Sunday before election, five little colored girls marched carrying a banner with the inscription, "We are the men of to-morrow."

NOTES AND COMMENT

WE recommend to our readers three recent books as interesting anti-suffrage literature: *To-Day's Daughter,* by Josephine Daskam Bacon; *Delia Blanchflower,* by Mrs. Humphrey Ward (an extract from which is published in this number); and *The Congresswoman,* by Curtis.

Many women, having little else, demand the vote, having persuaded themselves it will give them that "else" they lack. On the contrary, the majority of the women who have that else realize that the ballot will not add to that which they have, but take from it.

In Moody County they downed equal suffrage and the license referred law by large majorities, which does away, so far, with the contention that saloons and Anti-Suffragists are yoked up in the same bow.

—*Vermillion* (S. D.) *Republican.*

The suffering women of this State surely got a fair show from the newspapers. While there is no question about the majority of the newspapers of the State being at heart opposed to the proposition, less than a score of the 400 publications made any serious attempt against suffrage. They were gallant enough to let matters take its course. The principal reason for the indifference of the newspapers of suffrage in this State is the well-grounded belief that only a small part of the women desire the ballot.—*Kimball* (S. D.) *Graphic.*

"In the woman's suffrage propaganda there is involved a question far more vital and far-reaching than the mere political stability of the State. There hangs in the balance the very existence and perpetuity of the State and the moral and physical well-being of the people. The greatest evils in this country to-day are not to be found in the unsavory political corruption that occasionally comes to light; they are not to be found in the untoward encroachments of predatory trusts, nor even in the oppressive congestion of the slums. They are to be found rather in the social ideals of those classes of the people upon whom, by reason of their superior culture or affluence, responsibility for the social ideals of the nation chiefly falls, and two of the gravest and most insidious of those evils are the diminution of the family and the startling spread of divorce."

Mallory Prize Essay, John F. Crosby, Georgetown University, 1912.

DELAWARE has been most successful in its work for the Red Cross. A station was opened in the Hotel DuPont where the work has been carried on for six weeks. Donations to the amount of $3,308.35 were received and six boxes have been sent off containing bedding, clothing and surgical supplies.

The boxes were marked with linen-backed labels with large Red Cross in the center, "from the Women's Committee of Delaware Opposed to Woman Suffrage" and the contents of each box written plainly on the outside.

A military ball was arranged by Mrs. Henry B. Thompson and Miss Emily P. Bissell, who were assisted by a neutral committee, and as a result $400 was turned over to the State treasurer and $226 was spent for supplies for the surgical department.

Contributions are still coming in from the several States. Milwaukee sends $161.00 and generous donations of clothing. Minneapolis has added $30.00 to the fund already reported. New Jersey contributes from Trenton $55.00; from Elizabeth $10.00; from Westfield $190.00. The Philadelphia Association has sent a check for $251.35, made up of small amounts collected by its members and their friends, and the Pittsburg Association $100.00.

The Chestnut Hill "Antis" raised more than $2,550 for the American Ambulance Hospital in Paris at a luncheon given for the purpose. The affair was under the auspices of the Chestnut Hill branch of the Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Woman's Suffrage, and the entertainment included a talk by Prof. Bliss Perry of Harvard on "The Youth of Napoleon."

The Albany Anti-Suffrage Society is doing active Red Cross work at its headquarters in the Douw building and at the home of Miss Farnsworth in Elk Street.

The Albany Auxiliary has received word that one of its members, Miss Margaret Doane Gardiner, granddaughter of the late Bishop Doane, is working for the Red Cross at Oxford, England, under the direction of Lady Haldane, sister of the British Lord Chancellor.

Many garments have been finished and shipped to the Red Cross from the office of the New York State Association since the first of November, including pajamas, hospital and surgical shirts, and many knitted articles. A large box of clothing and knitted garments was sent to the Belgian Consulate at the request of the donors.

(James Calloway in the Macon *Telegraph.*)

IN the closing exercises of the W. C. T. U. meeting in Atlanta, the president of each State marched to the platform and stated that woman's suffrage was necessary for the abolition of the liquor traffic.

Virginia was the only exception. Virginia's president declared that it wasn't necessary for Virginia women to vote; that they had men who were worthy of the ballot and invariably cast the right sort of one. This, she said, was demonstrated by its recent prohibition vote.

Well said for Virginia. Virginia has recently gone "dry," and women do not vote. California has just had an election and went "wet"—the women espousing the liquor cause. Another Western State also went "wet," the women voting the wet ticket.

Georgia, North Carolina, Tennessee and Mississippi are dry States and men voted them dry. Men voted Maine dry, but that State has indulged blind tigers for over forty years with the result that the standard of morals, both for men and women, is the lowest of all the States of the Union. The United States census report shows that in Maine the number of divorces from drunkenness far exceed those of Kentucky with so much larger population. Such is the government's report.

For those W. C. T. U. women, mostly from the West and North, to come down here and preach woman's suffrage to be a national law, regardless of States, was a piece of political impertinence. Suffrage is dearer to their hearts than prohibition, else they would have eschewed the subject in a Southern prohibition State.

But they are nationalists. All nationalists are in mind war-lords—opposed to the people acting for themselves, but to be in subjection to centralized authority. It is the spirit which antagonizes the foundation principles of our government.

All but this one Virginia woman, by their actions and expression, endorsed the views of Mrs. Carrie Catt, who says: "If this present Constitution stands in our way, we propose to tear it up and make another."

THE NEW YORK STATE ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE

FOUNDED 1895

Printed matter can be secured by application to the Secretary at the office of the Association, 37 West 39th Street, New York City.

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Questionaire
Women and The Vote *Everett P. Wheeler*
Feminist Principle Biologically Unsound *Prof. William I. Sedgwick*

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The Nature of Woman ($1.25) *J. Lionel Tayler*
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Street .....

City .....

State .....